

423 from Bang Chan, the figure is as high as 85 percent (Dobby 1950). In
184 these terms, therefore, it is best to view the incidence of land tenancy in
Bang Chan as largely a function of local, historical circumstances.

369 A final word should be said about Bang Chan's proximity and ac-
177 cessibility to Bangkok—the cornucopia of so much that is new, interesting,
and desirable (if somewhat equivocally) to most Siamese peasants. It is
clear that Bang Chan's closeness to the capital creates certain conditions
that would not be present in a community situated, for example, 200
kilometers, instead of 31 kilometers, from the nation's largest city. Simply
on practical grounds, this nearness to the city permits the villagers to take
advantage of opportunities—economic, recreational, and religious—which
those living in distant provinces can obtain only after serious consideration
of the financial and psychological expenses involved: "Do I have shoes to
wear in the city? Do they treat people from the provinces well? With whom
will I stay? Do I have the train fare?" A Bang Chaner who visits the capital
(494) does not have to make such financial or emotional commitments, since it is
only a one hour, three and one-half baht (seventeen and one-half cents)
bus ride back home, although many do share with their up-country cousins
the peasant's apprehensions about city manners.

The attractions of Bangkok take several forms: off-season jobs, medical
care, kinship ties, special schools, great market places, famed monasteries or
fairs, and the many other places where one can go to have fun. A survey
(484) conducted in Bang Chan during 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis 1957) indicates
that 62 percent of all household heads in the village visited Bangkok more
than twice during the year for just such purposes. (Twenty-one percent
had not gone to Bangkok at all, and 23 percent had gone more than ten
times.) Many villagers, particularly younger men, attracted by the promise
of regular wages, lighter work, and the bright lights of the city, leave Bang
Chan with the hope that they will never have to return, although of course
(464) many do. The Goldsen-Ralis survey reveals that 26 percent of their re-
spondents had lived in Bangkok for a year or more, although for most this
(701) was in fulfillment of military service.

369 Living in Bangkok is not something that is desired in and of itself. Bang
177 Chaners are keenly aware of the disadvantages of city living—particularly
181 its great expense and insecurity—and are impressed only by those indi-
viduals who have made a success out of their urban sojourn. Most would
agree that a Bangkok coolie, for all his exposure to the wonders of the
modern world, lives a considerably less attractive life than they do.

369 The frequent transit between Bang Chan and Bangkok,⁸ however,
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(209) ⁸ Of less practical consequence than their direct personal experiences and word-
(204) of-mouth contacts, but not to be ignored, are the villagers' contacts with Bangkok by
(871) way of radio, newspapers, books, and of course by way of what their children bring

174 "extended families." The aim of all Bang Chan families even then was to
596 attain a position in which they would be free from such obligations or would have other families dependent upon them.

596 In the intervening years the influx of new families into Bang Chan, the
594 increased self-sufficiency of the individual nuclear families and, most im-
177 portant, the increased acceptance of commercial values, have served to
178 break down kindred groups so that today few kinsmen work their fields together and even fewer share their food or equipment with one another, beyond what has been noted above. Perhaps the only remaining *universally*

[476] practiced function of the old kindred groups is the celebration of cere-
[796] monials involving members of the family, particularly cremations and ordinations, the cost and merit of which are shared among the participants, depending upon their wealth. Very often people do not want to borrow

[426] from or lend money or equipment to kinsmen precisely because the intrusion of the kinship tie makes the collection of such debts doubly awkward ("relatives take twice as long in repaying money; I do not want to lend anything to them"). However, the old forms have not been completely obliterated and when necessity requires or personal convenience moves an individual to look to others, the traditions of extended kinship, as indicated earlier, may be invoked.

596 For purposes of conceptual convenience, two types of kindred may be specified: the kind referred to above which involves kinsmen living in the village and to which Kaufman (1960) gives the name "spatially extended family"; and the type descriptive of relatives living outside Bang Chan, dispersed throughout other villages and provinces or in Bangkok, and called by Kaufman "the remotely extended family" and by L. M. Hanks (1959c) "the multi-local extended family." These terms are of course generic labels descriptive of actual or potential relationships between individuals, not of specifically delimited groups. Sometimes Bang Chaners attempt to extend the definition of the latter type of relationship to individuals who have never heard of them, but who may be in a position to help their son obtain a job in the city or get him admitted into a vocational school. Hanks has shown how the multi-local extended family has to a limited extent in recent years rejuvenated extended kinship ties by becoming the major institutional mechanism through which villagers leave Bang Chan to seek their fortunes elsewhere. (This last phrase is not merely a figure of speech; many young Bang Chan men have what could be called almost a Dick Whittington view about leaving Bang Chan for Bangkok.) A cousin who undertakes to serve as a villager's liaison to a city job or who offers him a place to stay usually does so willingly, for it creates obligations which may be called upon later if need be.

596 The above description of variations and extensions has been presented

369 It should be noted also that once a villager has moved
• 167 into Bangkok he will be deprived of the privilege to
162 acquire free food from nature -- an important economic
advantage of living in the village which counts heavily
when emigration to the city is being seriously contemplated.

427 It is seen, then, that the demand for land on the
423 part of land-thirty operators -- the tenants, part-owners,
and owner-operators -- was high and inelastic, while the
demand for land on the part of land-saturated landlord-
operators was low and elastic. Since the combined demand
of all landlord-operators constituted only a small fraction
of the total demand (Table 20), it may be safely concluded
that the aggregate demand for land in Bangchan at the period
we are dealing with was high and inelastic.

311 Let us now consider the supply side of land. For
423 the purpose of this discussion we may differentiate four
427 sources of supply of a total of 6,722 rai considered to
463 represent our natural Bangchan area. They are:

1. Land-thirsty operators -- all for implicit rent.

a, Owner-operators	2,131 rai
b, Part-owners	227 rai
c, Tenants	225 rai
Sub-total	<u>2,583 rai</u>
2. Land-saturated operators (landlord-operators).

a, For implicit rent	517 rai
b, For explicit rent	683 rai
Sub-total	<u>1,220 rai</u>
3. Local non-operators -- all for explicit rent.

a, Traders	189 rai
b, Investors	149 rai
c, Public servants	165 rai
Sub-total	<u>503 rai</u>